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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION NATO
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VALLETTA
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION USBERLIN
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO CSCE

SUBJECT: CSCE IMPLEMENTATION

REF: USNATO 4460

1. WE APPRECIATE INFORMATION CONTAINED REFTEL AND MISSION'S EFFORTS TO PREPARE THE GROUND FOR INITIAL NATO CONSULTATIONS ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION. WE AGREE WITH COMMENT CONTAINED PARA 5 REFTEL THAT NATO AND EC NINE CONSULTATIONS ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION SHOULD PROCEED IN PARALLEL AND WE FORESEE THAT SAME TWO-TIERED PATTERN OF NINE AND NATO CONSULTATIONS COULD BE DEVELOPED AS THAT WHICH CHARACTERIZED ALLIED EFFORTS DURING CSCE ITSELF. WE ARE FLEXIBLE ON FORM OF CONSULTATIONS IN NATO, AND DO NOT REPEAT NOT NECESSARILY ENVISAGE AN ATTEMPT TO ARRIVE AT AGREED ALLIED POSITIONS ON CSCE RESULTS BEFORE PROCEEDING TO RELATE THESE TO BILATERAL ISSUES IN OUR CONTACTS WITH SOVIETS AND EE COUNTRIES. OUR MAIN INTEREST AT THIS POINT WILL BE TO ESTABLISH AGREED PROCEDURES AND APPROACH WITHIN NATO. THUS, AT FIRST MEETING OF NAC ON THIS SUBJECT, YOU SHOULD BUILD YOUR PRESENTATION AROUND THE FOLLOWING POINTS.

A. WE HAVE PROPOSED EARLY NATO CONSULTATIONS ON CSCE

IMPLEMENTATION BECAUSE THE SUBJECT FALLS WITHIN NATO'S BROAD RESPONSIBILITY FOR COORDINATING ALLIED EFFORTS NOT ONLY FOR DEFENSE BUT ALSO TOWARD DETENTE. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CSCE'S DECISIONS WILL CONSTITUTE AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN THE PERIOD AHEAD AND ACCORDINGLY IS A TOPIC OF DIRECT CONSEQUENCE TO THE ALLIES AND THE ALLIANCE.

B. MOREOVER, IT IS IMPORTANT TO BEAR IN MIND IN THE COURSE OF OUR DISCUSSIONS THAT THERE WILL BE A STRONG EXPECTATION ON THE PART OF OUR PUBLICS THAT OUR GOVERNMENTS INDIVIDUALLY AND COLLECTIVELY WILL ACT TO IMPLEMENT THE CSCE'S DECISIONS. ACTIONS HAVE BEEN TAKEN, FOR EXAMPLE, BY JOURNALISTS AND BY THOSE WHO SEEK AND SUPPORT
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EMIGRATION, WHICH REQUIRE OUR GOVERNMENTS TO RESPOND. WE CAN EXPECT SIMILAR PRESSURES IN THE FUTURE. FAILURE TO RESPOND WILL RISK PUBLIC CYNICISM AND WILL ENABLE THE SOVIETS TO DIMINISH THE EFFECT OF WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN GENEVA.

C. WHILE WE ARE FLEXIBLE ON THE FORM OF CONSULTATIONS, WE DO FEEL THE NEED FOR AN EARLY EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE

OVERALL SIGNIFICANCE AND STATUS OF THE FINAL ACT OF CSCE IN ORDER TO FORESTALL AN EFFORT BY THE SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES TO IMPOSE THEIR OWN INTERPRETATION. SEVERAL EXAMPLES OF THE PROBLEM WE FACE IN THIS REGARD HAVE ALREADY SURFACED.

D. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE ALLIES NEED TRY TO DEVELOP A SINGLE RIGID APPROACH TO EACH OF THE ISSUES TOUCHED ON IN CSCE. THE MATTER IS MUCH TOO COMPLEX FOR THAT. RATHER IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CSCE'S DECISIONS THE ALLIES SHOULD DO WHAT THEY HAVE DONE IN SO MANY OTHER SIMILAR CASES -- SEARCH FOR A COMMON UNDERSTANDING ON THE BEST OVERALL COURSE TO FOLLOW IN THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS AND THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

E. WE ALSO BELIEVE SOME MECHANISM IS REQUIRED FOR MONITORING OF CSCE IMPLEMENTATION IN ORDER TO PROVIDE THE NECESSARY BACKGROUND FOR BILATERAL EFFORTS AND FOR THE FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS IN 1977. THE NATO APPARATUS IS WELL SUITED TO THIS TYPE OF WORK AND WOULD PROVIDE THE BROADEST POSSIBLE SOURCES OF WESTERN INFORMATION ON EASTERN IMPLEMENTATION.

F. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THERE WILL BE A NEED TO CONTINUE CONSULTATIONS ALSO AMONG THE EC NINE AND THAT MUCH OF THE

EFFORT TO PURSUE CSCE IMPLEMENTATION WILL, IN THE NATURE OF THINGS, BE CONDUCTED BILATERALLY. WE HOPE A FLEXIBLE PATTERN OF CONSULTATIONS CAN BE DEVELOPED WHICH WILL PERMIT CONSULTATIONS AMONG THE NINE, AS WELL AS AMONG THE 15, AND WHICH WILL NOT INHIBIT THE BILATERAL EFFORTS WHICH MANY COUNTRIES WILL FEEL OBLIGED TO MAKE.

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G. THUS FAR, THE ALLIANCE'S RECORD ON IMPLEMENTATION HAS BEEN GOOD. THERE HAVE BEEN PROMPT CONSULTATIONS ON CBMS WHICH LED TO A NUMBER OF US COORDINATING INFORMATION REGARDING MILITARY MANEUVERS. THERE ARE PLANS TO INVITE OBSERVERS TO THE REFORGER EXERCISE. WE HAVE THUS SET HIGH STANDARDS FOR OURSELVES AND FOR OTHER CSCE SIGNATORIES.

2. FYI. WITH REGARD TO QUESTION RAISED REFTTEL ON IRISH ACCESS TO NATO CLASSIFIED INFORMATION ON CSCE, WE DO NOT RPT NOT IN PRINCIPLE FORESEE ANY DIFFICULTIES, BUT WOULD PREFER TO SEE WHAT KINDS OF DOCUMENTS ARE DEVELOPED ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION BEFORE MAKING FIRM COMMITMENT ON RELEASE OF SUCH INFORMATION TO IRISH.

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